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ABSTRACT

Data from a sample of 32-year old men and their working wives from Lenawee County, Michigan, were examined to study the effect of postmarital education on the individual and collective statuses of married couples. Current socioeconomic status of each of the spouses was predicted to be a function of family background, educational and occupational status at marriage, own educational attainments within marriage, and within marriage educational and occupational attainments of spouse. The men were mostly white, small town residents. Their parents were mostly blue- or lower-white-collar workers. Over the marital state of the life cycle, before-marriage attainments of each spouse were found to have a consistent negative effect on the current occupational attainment of the other spouse. Spouses were somewhat hindered in career advancement by virtue of similar efforts of the other spouse--wives more so than husbands. This validated the prevailing notion that wives sacrifice career opportunities more than husbands, but husbands are not immune from these effects. The most significant findings were positive "lagged cross effects" that suggest that working marital partners accommodate each other over time in advancing individual careers by moderating their own achievements. (A status attainment model for two career couples is presented.) (YLB)

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STATUS ATTAINMENTS OF COUPLES: THE RECIPROCAL EFFECTS OF POSTMARITAL EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION*

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Status Attainments of Couples: The Reciprocal Effects of Postmarital Education and Occupation

Abstract

In this paper we propose and estimate a combined model of occupational attainment for husbands and wives from the Lenawee County, Michigan data (Haller and Featherman, 1975). We find that over the marital stage of the life cycle, before marriage attainments of each spouse have a consistent negative effect on the current occupational attainment of the other spouse. Also, spouses were somewhat hindered in career advancement by virtue of similar efforts of the other spouse — wives more so than husbands. This validates the prevailing notion that wives sacrifice career opportunities more than husbands, but husbands are not immune from these effects. Our most significant findings, however, are positive "lagged cross effects" which suggest that working marital partners accomodate each other over time in advancing individual careers by moderating their own achievements. Our findings call for the respecification of status attainment models that employ individuals as units of analysis; particularly for samples in which both husbands and wives are pursuing their own careers.

This paper presents an attempt to add to the sociological understanding of status attainment processes by examining the effect of postmarital education on the individual and collective statuses of married couples. Employing for this purpose a special sample of 32 year old men and their working wives, statistical models are estimated which permit an assessment of the effects of each partners' postmarriage educational attainment on their occupational statuses. The unique contribution of this work lies in its demonstration that status attainment after marriage is best conceived as an activity of the couple as such rather than of the man or woman alone.

Previous empirical treatments of status attainment processes have concentrated on individuals, usually males (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1972; Sewell et al., 1976; Haller and Portes, 1973 among others). The status orientations of females have not been totally neglected (DeJong et al., 1971; Tyree and Treas, 1974; Chase, 1975; Treiman and Terrel, 1975; Featherman and Hauser, 1976; McLendon, 1976; Taylor and Glenn, 1976; and Rosenfeld, 1978) even in research going back many years (Sewell, Haller and Straus, 1957). However, even in the most recent work (Rosenfeld, 1978) womens' statuses, like those of men, are treated as if they were unaffected by the status objectives of their partners. This position may be tenable for the career experiences of females prior to marriage, however, it is dubious for two-career marriages, in which both the husband and wife are full-time workers. For such families, the postmarriage status related decisions of each marriage partner may well be contingent upon those of the other (see Kerckoff, 1978, for example). Given the long-range increase in the proportion of married women who are employed (Nass, 1978:77-81), with no apparent decrease in the proportion of married men who are similarly employed, it seems reasonable to expect that the postmarriage statuses of husbands and wives are dependent on one another. The assumption that the individual worker, whether male or female, is the proper unit of status attainment research for

married persons is less and less tenable. Researchers working on status attainment process of married adults need to know whether their statistical models should be respecified.

The major thesis of this paper is that the greater attainments on the part of one spouse moderate the attainment of the other; in part because they may be less necessary, but also because they are less possible given the scarcity of resources which partners in two-career families must allocate to market and family pursuits. Our formulations of this thesis are heavily informed by research done in the areas of female labor force participation (Cain, 1966; Mincer, 1961; and Sweet, 1973); the studies of household human capital (Oppenheimer, 1974, 1977; Sampson and Rossi, 1975; and Benham, 1974); and the way married women perceive their class standing (Ritter and Hargens, 1975; Felson and Knoke, 1974; Hiller and Philliber, 1978). None of these studies, however, address the issue of reciprocal effects between the occupational attainments of marriage partners.

The Model, Data and Methods

The models estimated herein permit an assessment of the average degree to which the postmarriage education, and occupational statuses of two-job married couples are mutually contingent, net of the premarriage statuses and status origins of each. A structural model (Figure 1) is presented in which husband's and wive's current occupational socio-economic statuses (SEI) are taken as the dependent variable.

Figure 1 about here

Current SEI of each of the spouses is predicted to be a function of: (1) family background, (2) educational and occupational status at marriage, (3) own educational attainments within marriage, and (4) within marriage educational and occupational attainments of spouse. Apportioning education into that obtained

before and after marriage is informed by recent findings of Davis and Bumpass (1976) that education after marriage is increasingly significant for American women, both in terms of the frequency of this practice as well as the significant association postnuptial education has with wife's occupational status and egalitarian marital structures. These findings as well as our theoretical perspective lead us to predict that educational attainments of one spouse will produce positive "own-status" outcomes, but will have a negative effect on within-marriage educational and occupational attainments of the other spouse.

Education at marriage is conceived to be determined independently for each spouse by their own background factors, the latter being allowed to operate on their own attainments throughout the marital life-cycle stage. Spouses' educational attainments at marriage then become the endogenous variables for the marital stage, entering into later regressions as a control for selective mating effects. The model supposes simultaneous determination of spouses' post-marital educations and current occupations. While statuses at marriage can be safely assumed to be caused by own background and, perhaps, perception of one's spouse's potential vis a vis his or her education, attainments fully within the marital stage carry no assumption about the causal ordering of spouses' respective attainments at the same phase of the model.

The data are taken from a basic sample of men from southeastern Michigan and their wives. In 1957, extensive data were elicited by means of standardized self-administered questionnaires and objective test instruments. These were filled out, under supervision, by 442 boys who were then 17 years old and who were in school in Lenawee county, Michigan. As nearly as could be determined, these boys constituted 88 percent of all male residents of the county who were born between July 1, 1939 and July 30, 1940.

In 1972, 15 years later, 79 percent of the survivors of this cohort were re-contacted, and extensive information about their subsequent education, occupations, current incomes, marriages, and families, was provided by them. Considerable data on their wives were taken at the same time. The details of the basic data, together with some preliminary discussions and additional references may be found in Haller and Featherman (1975).

The present analysis is restricted to a subsample of married men whose present wives were working either at the time of marriage or in 1972 (N = 228). The sample is uniquely appropriate for our purposes because the men were almost exactly the same age, as are their wives. Cohort difference effects which might otherwise hamper the interpretations are nonexistent. These people graduated from high school in the late 1950's. Most of them had completed their educations and had launched their careers before the height of the Vietnam War, so the status attainment differences among them were not likely to have been influenced much by the war, although a few had military experience. Their careers were underway before the women's movement had become widely diffused. So any observed contingent effects might be expected to underestimate, rather than exaggerate, the effects of women's rising feminist consciousness. There is no reason to believe that either the men or their wives were especially oriented toward avant-garde intellectual movements, although quite a few went to school beyond high school. The men originated from an area just outside Detroit and Toledo. They were mostly small town residents and were all white. Their parents were mostly blue collar or lower-white collar workers. Indeed the county was chosen precisely because it was rather affluent and because it lay within easy comuting distances of Jackson, Ann Arbor, Detroit and Toledo. Regarding education, occupation, and income, they were by 1972 a rather successful lot, and many had moved to other areas, some far from

Michigan. All in all, their status-related experiences before and after marriage were sufficiently diverse to permit a serious assessment of post-marriage status contingencies, yet as they are close enough to the life-styles of "middle-middle class" whites to assume that estimates of their contingencies are probably not atypical.

Occupational status in all cases is measured by scores on the Duncan Socio-economic Index for Occupations (SEI) coded by the two-digit Census occupation codes (for a discussion of the validity of SEI scores for comparisons of men and women, see Treiman and Terrell, 1975:175-176). Education was coded in single years completed, including vocational training. Individuals not currently working are coded at the mean of those having SEI scores. Since the proportion of wives not working fluctuates over time, before concluding the analysis we will comment on the comparative behavior in the model of participation and occupational attainment of wives.

In estimating the model our interest will be primarily in the signs of the paths from the attainments of one spouse to those of the other. These moderating effects should be evidenced by negative paths between husbands' and wives' attainments within marriage, the positive effects of selective mating having been controlled.

Findings

The zero order correlations for variables in the model are presented in Table 1.[1] The origin variables for both spouses indicate positive association

Table 1 about here

with the later status variables of each of these spouses. The strength of these associations are also in line with our expectations. Generally speaking, the origin variables for husbands show stronger association with husband's own status variables at different stages of their life cycles than their association

with wives status variables at similar stages of her life cycle. As one moves away from origin toward destination the association between them also decreases continuously. Of particular interest to us, however, are the correlations between the status variables of both spouses since their marriage.

Education at marriage for both spouses is strongly related to their occupations at marriage. Similarly, their postmarital education gains are related to their current occupations, though in both cases the relationship is somewhat stronger for husbands than for wives. The high correlations at marriage indicate the importance of education for occupational attainments for both husbands and wives but also point to the well known observation that women's education may not be as highly rewarded in terms of occupational status as that for men. Somewhat lower correlations between postmarital educational gains and current occupational status for wives ($r = .2852$) than for their husbands ($r = .3538$) may also reflect this disparity at marriage but may also indicate somewhat restricted mobility of wives in this post marriage stage of their life cycles.

The correlations of spouses' educational attainments at marriage ($r = .5691$) suggests high selective mating. The relationship between spouses' occupational statuses at marriage and at present, though positive, does not indicate the same strength as was the case for the corresponding educational variables. Whatever small association was observed between the spouses' occupational statuses at the time of marriage ($r = .2540$) is considerably reduced by 1972 ($r = .1706$) when the current survey was taken. This may indicate that both husbands and wives may have similarities in their postmarriage educational achievements, but their occupational statuses in 1972 differ substantially. These zero order correlations also indicate that the postmarital educational gains are only weakly related to earlier attainments or origins. Wives' post

marital education bears a stronger relationship to her husband's initial education than does his later educational gains to her education at marriage. This pattern is suggestive of some "catching up" on the part of wives. Current occupational attainments are moderately associated with postmarital educational gains, but somewhat contrary to our expectations, the association is stronger for husbands than for wives ($r = .3538$ versus $.2855$).

The model estimated in Table 2 employs eight reduced form structural

Table 2 about here

equations reflecting four phases in status attainment for each spouse. These equations, as in path analysis, predict attainments at various stages of marriage from own and spouses' backgrounds and attainments. For the first two phases, educational and occupational attainments at marriage, estimates are based on ordinary least squares techniques. For each equation of the last two phases, two-stage least squares estimation was attempted, since the model postulated simultaneous determination of attainments. The two-stage procedure was successful in only three of the four equations, however, failing to yield interpretable results in the equation predicting wife's current occupation. The problem, intractible in these data, is that our first stage fitted values for husband's occupation are nearly perfectly collinear with husband's education at marriage ($r = .9531$). Pending further analysis, the suspicion is that SEI scores are so "loaded" with education that a two-stage procedure for deriving instruments for husband's occupations is simply of no use. At any rate, the pattern of regression weights throughout the analysis did not differ appreciably for the two-stage compared to the OLS estimates (that such is often the case in small samples is suggested by Kmenta, 1971:581-585). Though we place less confidence in the OLS estimates of wife's current occupation, the results are presented along with the others in Table 2.

The first equations of the model depict the effect of background variables on educational attainment at marriage. The patterns found in our data replicate the existing findings as to the magnitude of background effects on education of men and women and need no further discussion. Of particular interest to us are the later stages in our model. In the predicting occupational attainment at marriage, "spouse" effects are minor. Note that for wives, husband's education has a positive but trivial impact on wife's occupation net of selective mating. Already the marital context is more important for wives than for husbands, who additionally have a 10% advantage in occupational gains from their own education and are still benefiting from socioeconomic origins. There is no evidence that attainments at marriage are moderated by the education of the other spouse; no evidence, that is, of spouses lowering or raising their occupational level based on the potential contribution of the other spouse. Of particular interest to us, however, are the postmarital stages of educational gains and occupational attainments.

With the third set of equations, predicting postmarital educational gains, two processes become apparent, both of which lend support to our conception of the mechanisms operative in spouses' attainment. First, the direct cross effects of attainments of both husbands and wives outweigh the net effects of family background, indicating the overall significance of the marital stage of the life cycle in the status attainment process.[2] Second, a pattern of negative cross effects clearly emerges at this stage of the model, in both directions. Postmarital educational attainments of each partner are affected in a fairly strong negative way by those of the other partner. Wives experience the greatest negative impact on their postmarital educational achievements, -.2521 from husband's postmarital education, as well as an additional effect of -.2698 from his occupation up to this phase of the model. On the other

hand, the educational attainments the spouses bring into the marriage, produce positive own and cross effects on later educational attainments. Wife's socioeconomic background has significant net positive effects on her post-marital education.[3]

The cross effects of earlier spouse attainments become decidedly negative when the focus shifts to current occupational status. Both occupational and educational attainments at marriage have moderated current attainments of the other spouse. The largest spouse effect is the -.2418 impact of wife's occupation at marriage on husband's current attainment. Somewhat surprisingly, spouses' current occupations both have positive net cross effects. Since we know that many wives have dropped out of the labor force at this point, however, the current pattern may simply reflect the family status maintenance inherent in selective working on the part of the wives.

A direct analysis of wife's participation in the labor force, compared to her occupational attainment, reveals that cross effects reflected in the model are only applicable to occupational status. When wife's occupation is coded either as zero for non-working, or when treated as a dummy variable, all paths between wife's occupation and husband's attainments become approximately zero. In this sample, entering and leaving the labor force on the part of the wives appears substantially unrelated to husband's status attainment.

Discussion

The findings offer partial support for the view that status attainment for couples where both spouses are working is an accomodative process. While attainments of marital partners at a point in time sometimes show a consistency over the marital stage of the life cycle, there is evidence that the earlier attainments of each spouse have a consistent negative effect on the occupational attainment of the other spouse. While we postulated that spouses would be

similarly oriented to family and market in their labor force participation, this turned out to be only partially accurate. Throughout the marital stage both husbands and wives are affected by the others attainments, but wives apparently feel the effects of the family context of attainment more than do husbands. In this sense, our findings also lend support to the "wife as responder" point of view found in much of the literature on married women's economic role in the family. However, that it is the lagged cross effects which are the most significant in joint status attainment processes in marriage reveals that accomodation over time is a central feature of spouse interaction in attaining individual occupational statuses.

Footnotes

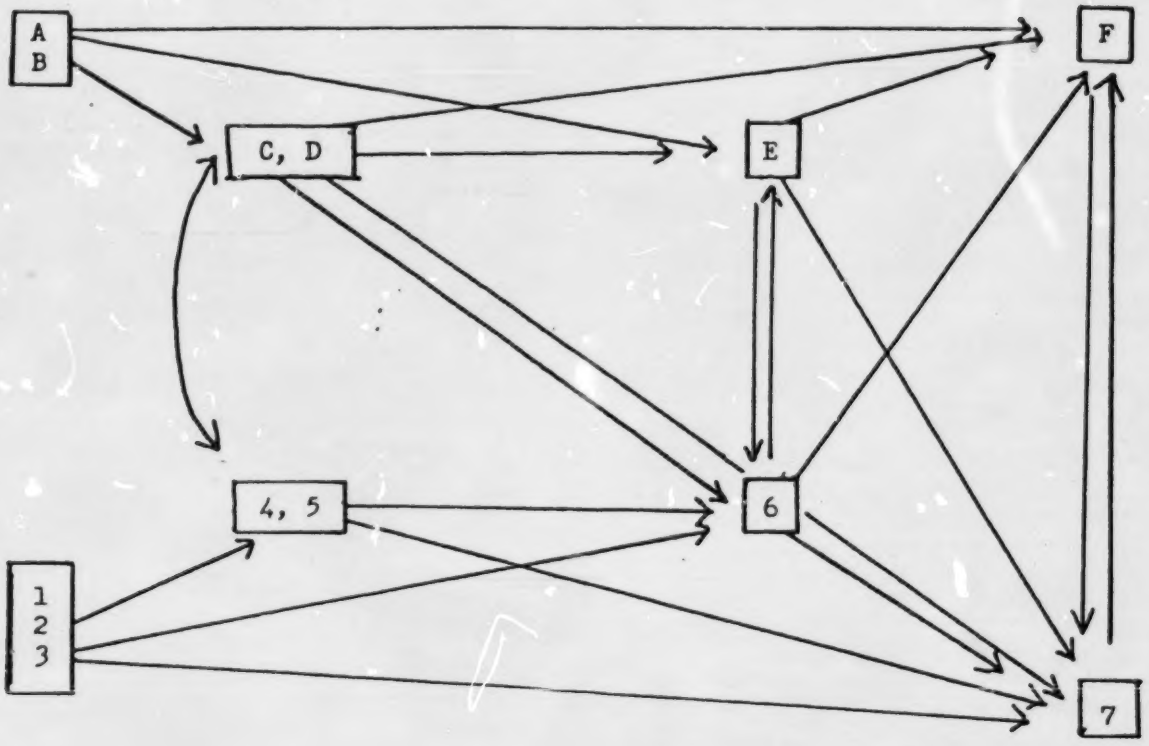
[1]Following Treiman and Terrell (1975) missing cases of variables were coded at the mean of reported cases. All correlations are, therefore, ostensibly based on 228 cases.

[2]Spouse effects, while greater in magnitude than background factors, are not statistically significant at this stage of the model due to the large standard errors of these variables and the number of cases in the sample.

[3]When family planning (FP) variable was added to the model it became apparent that this was the single most important influence on wife's educational attainment. However, this variable was not associated with any other variable in the model.

FIGURE 1

Status Attainment Model for Two Career Couples.



(A) Father's Occupation

(B) Father's Education

(C) $\text{Education}_{(m)}$

(D) $\text{Occupation}_{(m)}$

(E) $\text{Education}_{(pm)}$

(F) $\text{Occupation}_{(t)}$

(1) Father's Occupation

(2) Father's Education

(3) Mother's Education

(4) $\text{Education}_{(m)}$

(5) $\text{Occupation}_{(m)}$

(6) $\text{Education}_{(pm)}$

(7) $\text{Occupation}_{(t)}$

*Lettered variables refer to husband, numbered variables to wife.
Subscripts: (m) - at marriage, (pm) - after marriage, (t) - 1972.

TABLE 1

Matrix of Zero Order Correlations for Variables in the Status Attainment Model.[a,b]

VARIABLES	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6
(A) Father's Education												
(B) Father's Occupation	.4925											
(C) Education$_{(m)}$	.4043	.3477										
(D) Occupation$_{(m)}$	.3189	.3446	.6135									
(E) Education$_{(pm)}$	.0963	.0029	.1866	-.0356								
(F) Occupation$_{(t)}$	.2169	.2593	.6252	.5601	.3538							
(1) Father's Occupation	.2761	.2347	.4088	.3259	.1064	.3221						
(2) Father's Education	.2826	.1515	.2721	.1990	.1011	.2593	.4178					
(3) Mother's Education	.2564	.2257	.3306	.1308	.1463	.1595	.2752	.4696				
(4) Education$_{(m)}$	.2289	.2113	.5691	.3861	.1332	.3121	.3137	.2855	.3562			
(5) Occupation$_{(m)}$	.2512	.0772	.4024	.2540	.0891	.1456	.1792	.1904	.2166	.5507		
(6) Education$_{(pm)}$	.0763	.0219	.2173	.0825	.1181	.1285	.2306	.1261	.2104	.2200	.1316	
(7) Occupation$_{(t)}$	.1509	.1444	.2351	.0870	.1022	.1706	.2991	.1309	.2283	.4901	.5339	.285

[a]Lettered variables apply to husbands; numbered variables apply to wives.

[b]Temporal subscripts: m = at marriage
pm = after marriage
t = 1972

TABLE 2

Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Model of Husbands' and Wives' Status Attainment.

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable			
	HUSBANDS' STATUS ATTAINMENT			
	(C)	(D)	(E)[a]	(F)[a]
(A) Father's Education	.3077*	.0269	.0463	-.0763
(B) Father's Occupation	.1962*	.1337*	-.0655	-.0229
(C) Education$_{(m)}$		.5251*	.3857*	.4682*
(4) Wife's Education$_{(m)}$		.0521	.1338	-.1530
(D) Occupation$_{(m)}$			-.2631*	.4213*
(5) Wife's Occupation$_{(m)}$			-.0301	-.2418*
(6) Est. Wife's Education$_{(pm)}$			-1440	
(E) Education$_{(pm)}$				.3207*
(6) Wife's Education$_{(pm)}$				-.0463
(7) Est. Wife's Occupation$_{(t)}$				.2220
(F) Occupation$_{(t)}$				
R^2	.19	.40	.08	,55
	WIVES' STATUS ATTAINMENT			
	(4)	(5)	(6)[a]	(7)[b]
(1) Father's Occupation	.2103*	.0358	.1873*	.2113*
(2) Father's Education	.0738	-.0410	-.0223	-.1057
(3) Mother's Education	.2637*	-.0464	.1658*	.0585
(4) Education$_{(m)}$		.4750*	.1441	.3068*
(C) Husband's Education$_{(m)}$		.1407	.3505	-.2209*
(5) Occupation$_{(m)}$			-.0086	.4251*
(D) Husband's Occupation$_{(m)}$			-.2698	-.1807*
(E) Est. Husband's Education$_{(pm)}$			-.2521	
(6) Education$_{(pm)}$				.1582*
(E) Husband's Education$_{(pm)}$				-.0481
(F) Husband's Occupation$_{(t)}$				.1901*
(7) Occupation$_{(t)}$				
R^2	.18	.32	.11	.45

[a] 2SLS estimation.

[b] OLS estimation. See text for explanation.

*Unstandardized coefficient is more than twice its standard error.

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